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# Sino-Japanese Relations after the Cold War: Two Tigers Sharing a Mountain,

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extend its maritime strategic depth and to disrupt and deny the absolute U.S. superiority in the narrow “East Asian littoral” or turn it into a “zone of contestation.” China’s strategies and capabilities, according to Shi, are likely to be asymmetrical, and they can benefit from such modern technologies as long-range combat aircraft and missiles. China’s acquisition of major naval surface combatants mainly serves to supplement such capabilities, as well as to protect vital sea-lanes on which China’s economy depends. On the other hand, reduced U.S. military forward presence and globalization-induced nontraditional security challenges are likely to offer opportunities for Sino-U.S. cooperation. This is probably one of the few Chinese books that reflect not only an in-depth understanding of Western naval literature but also analytical ability to evaluate this literature critically to gain insight into current U.S.-China relations. Because the author serves as a research fellow and a managing editor of the journal *Strategic Studies* at the War Theory and Strategic Studies Department of China’s Academy of Military Science, the book may reflect an important perspective for understanding the extent and nature of China’s quest for sea power.

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Yahuda, Michael. *Sino-Japanese Relations after the Cold War: Two Tigers Sharing a Mountain*. New York: Routledge, 2014. 146pp. \$149.50 (paperback \$33.18)

Veteran East Asia international relations analyst Michael Yahuda explores the

traditional Chinese aphorism *yī shān bù róng èr hǔ*, or “two tigers competing for one mountain” (一山不容二虎), in analyzing the changing relationship of the two great powers of East Asia—China and Japan. The proverb is a good foil for his subject and has led to a nuanced and balanced essay on Chinese-Japanese relations during the forty-plus years since the two established diplomatic ties in 1972. His book is succinct. Each sentence pushes the narrative forward, making the book an ideal synopsis for busy policy analysts or East Asia students with extensive reading lists.

The chronological meat of the book is a detailed discussion of key periods in Chinese-Japanese relations, starting with the rapprochement between Mao Zedong and Kakuei Tanaka in the 1970s. In 1972, Mao forgave the Japanese for twentieth-century aggression, even forgoing war reparations. China’s economic reform movement began with Deng Xiaoping’s visit to Japan in 1978, setting the stage for the 1980s honeymoon period before the Cold War ended. This is instructive, because it demonstrates that tigers can more happily coexist during some periods than at other times. Yahuda then discusses Japan as the first country to reembrace China after the isolation imposed on Beijing in the wake of the Tiananmen crackdown of 1989. As the Soviet Union folded in 1991, bringing the Cold War to a close, the trajectory of Japan as number one leveled off into a two-decade period of economic stagnation. In contrast, Deng successfully transferred the helm and the reform mission to Jiang Zemin before passing away in 1997. By 2000 Chinese gross domestic product (GDP) had grown to 25 percent that of Japan’s. The relationship between Jiang and Prime

Minister Junichiro Koizumi went steadily downhill between 2000 and 2005, as Koizumi repeatedly visited the Yasukuni Shrine; Jiang played the history card at every turn, having none of Mao's forget-and-forgive approach.

The relationship improved when Shinzo Abe replaced Koizumi in 2005, but the subsequent annual turnover of Japan's prime ministers gave Hu Jintao's steady hand on the tiller time to overtake Japan economically, as well as to spend heavily on military infrastructure improvements, most notably on the People's Liberation Army Navy. By 2010, China's GDP had surpassed Japan's, and its economy was the second largest in the world, after that of the United States. Periodic conflict over the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands has recently led to a series of status quo changes in China's favor, as China's leadership baton was handed to Xi Jinping in November 2012 and Japan's returned to Abe, reelected in December 2012. China and Japan both bristle over naval patrols and air-defense zones around the disputed islands, as well as, in Japan's case, at Xi's demands for twentieth-century-history apologies from Japan, while Abe for his part visited Yasukuni in late December 2013 on the anniversary of his first year in office.

The theoretical meat of the book is no less interesting. Yahuda uses a blend of sociocultural constructivist approaches, liberal economic and institutional interdependence analysis, and realist strategic analysis to discuss the complex interrelationship between China and Japan, as well as their competitive relations with the Koreans, Taiwan, and the states of Southeast Asia. In Yahuda's analysis, the United States is the key swing variable in the relationship between the Asian tigers, first as Japan's ally

and second as China's opposite on the world stage of great-power relations.

A version of the "two tigers" Chinese proverb was used recently by S. C. M. Paine in her book *The Wars for Asia, 1911–1949* (2012). She used the phrase to refer to the two protagonists of the long Chinese civil war, the Nationalists and the Communists. Her translation gloss, "Great rivals cannot co-exist," implies a zero-sum game. Yahuda's conclusion is that two tigers on a single mountain need not represent a zero-sum game. He posits that in the period ahead, the two tigers, China and Japan, must share the same mountain, East Asia. Recent events confirm that this is a tough matchup, with both tigers snarling ferociously, neither inclined to back down the mountain.

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Yetiv, Steve A. *National Security through a Cock-eyed Lens: How Cognitive Bias Impacts U.S. Foreign Policy*. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2013. 168pp. \$24.95

There's an old saying, usually attributed to Mark Twain, that the Missouri River is "too thick to drink and too thin to plow." At first glance, the same might be said for this book, in that Steve Yetiv seeks to appeal to the scholar, to the practitioner, and to the lay reader, serving the lay reader best but not without utility to the practitioner and scholar.

Yetiv is the Louis L. Jaffe Professor of International Relations at Old Dominion University and University Professor. His premise in this book is simple. Cognitive biases impact human decision making and tend to reduce the impact